

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 290109 TOSEC 310146

62
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011
DRAFTED BY S/S:RGAMBLE:GJK
APPROVED BY S/S:GAMBLE
----- 018943

O 262328Z NOV 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 290109 TOSEC 310146

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 9452 ACTION SECSTATE 26 O 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 9452

NODIS

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
RAGS: PFOR RH UK
SUBJ: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: FRONT-LONE NEGOTIATIONS WITH MUGABE

1. CONGRESSMAN ASPIN (DEM-WIS) LUNCHEDED ON NOVEMBER 26
WITH BOTSWANA FONMIN ARCHIE MOGWE. MOGWE TOLD ASPIN THAT
THE FRONT-LINE REPRESENTATIVES HAD INCREASED THEIR PRESSURE
ON THE MUGABE DELEGATION TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE BRITISH
ON THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 290109 TOSEC 310146

2. MOGWE TOLD ASPIN THAT ALL THE FRONT-LINE REPRESENTA-

TIVES, INCLUDING THE MOZAMBICANS, HAD DECIDED THAT MUGABE MUST SETTLE WITH NKOMO AND THE BRITISH. THEY TRIED TO CALL ON MUGABE ON NOVEMBER 25 AFTER RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE PRESIDENTS. THE ANGOLANS ARE NOT PRESENT IN GENEVA AND PLAYED NO PART. AT FIRST, MUGABE'S ASSOCIATES RESISTED A FRONT-LINE APPEARANCE, BUT ONCE THE OBSERVERS SAID THEY WERE APPEARING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS THEY AGREED TO RECEIVE THEM.

3. ACCORDING TO MOGWE, THE OBSERVERS, IN CONCERT, TOLD MUGABE'S FULL DELEGATION THAT THEY WERE MAKING FOOLS OF THEMSELVES. SALIM SAID THAT NYERERE THOUGHT THEY HAD ACHIEVED "VICTORY" AND WERE ABOUT TO TURN IT INTO DEFEAT. ANYOUKU CHIMED IN WITH A SIMILAR MESSAGE FROM OBASANJO. CHONA READ A MESSAGE FROM KAUNDA SAYING HE SAW NO REASON FOR MUGABE TO RETURN TO AFRICA IN SEARCH OF A NEW MANDATE. IF ZIPA WITNESSES WERE NEEDED IN GENEVA TO CONFIRM THE DELEGATION'S MANDATE, KAUNDA WOULD SEE THAT THEY WERE FLOWN TO THE CONFERENCE. ALL OF THE FRONT-LINE OBSERVERS ARGUED AGAINST MUGABE RETURNING TO AFRICA. MOGWE TOLD MUGABE HE COULD HARDLY ATTACK IVOR RICHARD FOR HAVING AN INADEQUATE MANDATE FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IF HE, MUGABE, NOW CLAIMED THAT HIS MANDATE WAS NOT SECURE. ACCORDING TO MOGWE, THE FRONT-LINE OBSERVERS FEAR THAT IF MUGABE RETURNS TO AFRICA HOSTILE FACTIONS OF ZIPA MAY IMPEDE HIS RETURNING TO GENEVA--OR KWORSE. HE EMPHASIZED HOW WEAK MUGABE'S POSITION IS WITHIN HIS OWN DELEGATION. "MUGABE IS A FOLLOWER--NOT A LEADER," SAID MOGWE.

4. THE FRONT-LINE OBSERVERS WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT IF MUGABE CONTINUES TO BE INTRANSIGENT IT WOULD BE AN EMBARRASSMENT TO THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE MADE THEIR POSITIONS CLEAR AND WANT THE CONFERENCE TO PROCEED TO THE MORE IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. MUGABE AND COMPANY WERE FURTHERMORE COMPROMISING THE GOOD WORD OF THE OBSERVERS WHO HAVE TOLD THE BRITISH THAT THEIR LATEST FORMULA IS AN ACCEPTABLE ONE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 290109 TOSEC 310146

5. AFTER LISTENING TO THE OBSERVERS' PRESENTATION, MUGABE'S FOLLOWERS SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER THE ADVICE OF THE OBSERVERS AND WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH. MOGWE STAYED UP UNTIL MIDNIGHT WITHOUT RECEIVING A CALL. AS OF 1500 HOURS LOCAL TIME TODAY NO CALL HAD COME EVEN THOUGH MUGABE AND NKOMO HAD MET, AND THE TWO PATRIOTIC FRONT DELEGATIONS PLANNED TO MEET AGAIN.

6. BECAUSE OF THE GROWING SPLIT BETWEEN NKOMO AND MUGABE, MOGWE, ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE, CALLED ON MUZOREWA NOV. 25 TO SEE IF HE COULD NOT PERSUADE MUZOREWA TO COMPROMISE WITH NKOMO AND ALLOW THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE TO PROCEED (IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH SALIM OF TANZANIA, ASPIN WAS TOLD THAT THE TANZANIANS BELIEVE A SPLIT WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MUST BE AVOIDED, AND THAT SALIM WOULD BE ADVISING RICHARD TO PLAY HIS HAND CAREFULLY SO AS NOT TO LEND FURTHER CREDIBILITY TO RUMORS THAT THE BRITISH WISHED A SPLIT TO OCCUR) MUZOREWA THANKED MOGWE FOR HIS CALL AND SAID THAT HE HAD TRIED TO CONTACT NKOMO THROUGH HIS SUBORDINATES IN THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS. NKOMO HAD REBUFFED THE INITIATIVE BUT MUZOREWA WAS PREPARED TO TRY AGAIN.

7. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, MOGWE SAID THE TOUGHEST ISSUE THE CONFERENCE WILL FACE IS NOT THAT OF WHO WILL BE THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER. ALL OF THE NATIONALIST LEADERS WOULD, HE FELT, COME TO THE CONSLUSION THAT THE TRANSITION PERIOD IS WHEN THEY SHOULD OCCUPY THEMSELVES IN ORGANIZING THEIR POLITICAL CONSTITUENCIES FOR MAJORITY RULE ELECTIONS. THE PRINCIPAL QUESTION WILL BE THAT OF DEALING WITH THE ARMED FORCES OF ZANLA AND ZAPLA. THESE FORCES, MOGWE SAID, MUST BE TRANSFORMED FROM PERSONAL FIEFDOMS INTO MILITARY UNITS LOYAL TO THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE. IF THE TWO "ARMIES" ARE NOT AMALGAMATED, THE PROSPECTS OF COVIL WAR WILL BE REAL. IF THEY ARE IMPERFECTLY INCORPORATED, ONE OR THE OTHER WILL POSE A COUP D'ETAT THREAT IN THE FUTURE.

8. WITH RESPECT TO THE POLITICALFUTURES OF THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS, MOGWE ESTIMATED THAT NKOMO HAD A BETTER
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 290109 TOSEC 310146

THAN EVEN CHANCE TO WIN AN ELECTION. SITHOLE MAY BE A WILD CARD. WITHIN RHODESIA MANY OF ZANU'S MEMBERS STILL RESPECT SITHOLE. OLD ZANU'S LEADERS ARE SPLIT BETWEEN MUZOREWA, SITHOLE, AND MUGABE AND THEIR DIVIDED LOYALTY WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO AN NKOMO VICTORY.

9. NKOMO'S DILEMMA IS A REAL ONE. HE IS NOW CONVINCED HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO WORK WITH THE MUGABE DELEGATION, BUT HE DOES NOT WANT TO LOSE FRONT-LINE SUPPORT BY BRINGING ABOUT A SPLIT. ACCORDING TO MOGBE, HE HAS LET "CERTAIN OF THE OBSERVERS" KNOW THAT HE MIGHT BE FORCED BY MUGABE'S INTRANSIGENCE TO SPLIT BUT WISHES FIRST TO HAVE A SIGNAL FROM THE PRESIDENTS THAT HE CAN PROCEED WITHOUT MUGABE'S AND ZIPA'S SUPPORT. MOGWE REVIEWED THE STORY OF THE DAR-ES-SALEM SEPTEMBER 24 MEETING OF FRONT-

LINE PRESIDENTS AND TOLD CONGRESSMAN ASPIN HOW NYERERE HAD FORCED ZIPA PARTICIPATION UPON THE RELUCTANT POLITICAL LEADERS, SITHOLE, NKOMO AND MUZOREWA. MOGWE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT NYERERE WOULD CHANGE HIS POSITION NOW, AND IN ASPIN'S MEETING WITH SALIM, THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR GAVE THE SAME IMPRESSION.

10. REFERRING TO THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS' MEETING AT LUSAKA AFTER SMITH'S SEPTEMBER SPEECH, MOGWE SAID KHAMA OF BOTSWANA HAD ASKED NYERERE IF HE KNEW ANYTHING ABOUT THE PROPOSAL FOR A COUNCIL OF STATE. NYERERE TOLD KHAMA THAT THE FIRST HE HAD EVER HEARD OF SUCH A PROPOSAL WAS SMITH'S SEPTEMBER 24 SPEECH. KAUNDA REMAINED SILENT. MOGWE QUICKLY POINTED OUT THAT KHAMA BELIEVED NYERERE WAS LYING.

11. COMMENT: MOGWE'S ACCOUNT OF TODAY'S EVENTS IS SUPPORTED BY THE FRAGMENTS ASPIN AND I PICKED UP FROM SALIM. THE STORY CONFORMS WITH BRITISH REPORTS. IT IS REASSURING, AT LEAST, TO KNOW THAT THE OBSERVERS ARE WORKING IN HARMONY AND ARE TRYING TO PUSH MUGABE BEYOND HIS PRESENT POSITION. IT IS NOT CLEAR YET IF THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED, NOR IS IT CLEAR WHO, IF ANYONE, AMONG MUGABE'S DELEGATION WILL RETURN TO AFRICA FOR A NEW "MANDATE."BRUNGART. UNQUOTE ROBINSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, TOSEC, CAT-B, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEETING OBSERVERS, PROGRESS REPORTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 NOV 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE290109
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RGAMBLE:GJK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N760008-0539
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761111/aaaaaize.tel
Line Count: 193
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: FRONT-LONE NEGOTIATIONS WITH MUGABE
TAGS: PDEV, PFOR, RH, UK, (ASPIN, LES), (MOGWE, ARCHIE)
To: SECRETARY LONDON
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006